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Central Bisayan OA14

Cebuano

[For information pertaining to the description of a Cebu ceremony, described by Pigafetta in 1520, see 18:
Beyer, OA19 Ifugao, category 116, pp. 92-93.]

20: Hart

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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see category 241, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (bahatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi); category 243, pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture); category 245, pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (bahatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

to find and follow the wild pigs." Some people believe that the wild pigs do not run as fast or as far as normal on Holy Friday for "they are then very grave." This is one of a number of beliefs associated with Holy Week in Caticugan.

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When the pig is killed, division of the animal may be made in various ways. Apparently the most common division is one-half to the man who kills the pig, the remainder divided equally among the other hunters. If only one hunter has dogs, he receives two-thirds of the pig he kills and others share the remaining one-third. Some hunters said that if the "main hunter" (the one who held the annual bood) kills the pig he receives three-fourths and the others receive equal parts of the remainder. If another member of the group kills the pig, the "main hunter" receives only one-half, the man killing the pig one-fourth, and the remainder to the other members of the party. If the person who kills the pig is not a member of the hunting group he receives one-fourth of the animal, the "main hunter" one-half, and the remainder is divided among the rest. For example, a pursued boar might pass through a caingin where a man was watching his crops; if he killed the pig, one-fourth would be given to him. The head, liver, heart and tail always are given to the man who kills the pig.

Sometimes men who hunt without dogs are given one-half; or the meat may be divided according to the dogs they have on the hunt. The division is not standardized

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE RURAL
PHILIPPINE FIESTA COMPLEX
(NEGROS ORIENTAL PROVINCE)

DONN V. HART

796 THE fiesta (piyesta) is as typical of the Philippines as corn, coconuts, and carabaos. Every day in the year some city, *poblacion* or *barrio* is holding a fiesta in honor of its patron saint. For most rural Filipinos the fiesta is the big annual *premicias* (blow-out). As one sophisticated Manilaña has written:

At certain times of the year, Manila loses portions of its population to the provinces surrounding it. The call is irresistible to those who hear it and completely mystifying to those who do not and who are compelled to watch while, one after another, a segment of the community around them collectively drops everything it holds dear and necessary to life in this dusty metropolis to participate in the curious religious-social rites known as the fiesta.²

[21] There is no printed source by which the actual number of fiestas annually held in Negros Island can be determined, or in the Philippines as a whole. Since there are more than 600 *barrios* in Negros, and many more *sitios*, the number of fiestas held in this island each year probably total more than 500. The fiesta is a major aspect of Philippine culture and an excellent example of the reinterpretation of Spanish culture by Filipinos over the centuries. It is remarkable that so little has been written on these fiestas, for they are so typical of the Philippines. This article

[44] ¹This study was part of the research done by the writer while a Fulbright Fellow in the Philippines, 1950-52. For one year the writer lived in the southern part of Negros while making a community study of Barrio Caticugan, municipality of Siaton. The writer attended eight *barrio*, three *poblacion*, and one city fiestas while living in Negros Oriental. His work was aided in many ways by the gracious hospitality and cooperation afforded him by the faculty of Silliman University. It is understood, of course, that neither the Fulbright Committee nor Silliman University is responsible for the opinions and conclusions stated in this draft on the rural fiesta complex.

²Consuelo Abaya, "The Fiesta," *Philippine Quarterly*, 1:30, March, 1952.

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presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."³ During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

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Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the *barrio* folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the *barrio*, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

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This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.

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In Negros Oriental province there are now fiestas which are held on dates other than the patron saint's birthday (*kahologan*). If the saint's birthday falls during the holy week or conflicts with a fiesta in a nearby community, the date may be disregarded and a more convenient one selected by the people. Three fiestas were listed in the 1951 *Catholic Directory of the Philippines*, for Negros Island, with "moveable", i. e. unfixed, dates. The patron saint of Barrio Caticugan and Zamboanguita poblacion is San Isidro. Barrio Caticugan purposively established its fiesta the last of February in order not to conflict with the Zamboanguita fiesta which is held on May 15, San Isidro's birthday. The birthdays of the patron saints of Barrio Caticugan and Giliga-on occur during Holy Week. The fiestas in these two *barrios* are always postponed several weeks since dancing and gambling, and certain fiesta food, would be inappropriate during such a religious period.

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The religious aspects of the original fiesta complex have been significantly modified. For the majority of the Filipinos, the religious character of the contemporary rural Philippine fiesta has assumed a relatively minor part in the festivities. Often communities feel it necessary to justify the fiesta, with its dancing, feasting and gambling, for charitable purposes which were not part of the original complex.⁴ Fiestas are now held to raise money for a worthy cause, to build a need public, building, etc., instead of solely in honor of the patron saint. Abaya has written:

Now piety is only a subtle flavor which the inveterate fiesta-goer often fails to sample in the melange of more exciting ingredients. It is localized in the morning mass and perhaps a procession in the afternoon, which is convenient for skirting around by those who have other plans for their time.⁵

There are four reference points in the contemporary fiesta complex in regard to religion, although they are not as rigidly categorized as this pre-

⁴ The writer obtained the figures of the total income and expenses of some fiestas advertised, basically as charitable affairs. The amount of money remaining after the expenses of the event were paid was sometimes a mere pittance. The money spent on the orchestra, rental of the "Queen's gown and crown, etc. could have been reduced and a larger fund raised for charitable purposes. This observation is not meant as a criticism of such fiestas, merely a generalization that the charitable aspects of the fiesta appears to be a public rationalization by those who feel its diminished religious significance no longer justifies the fiesta's continuance.

⁵ Abaya, *loc. cit.*

796 sentation implies. First, the novenas (either individual or group prayers) which usually precede the fiesta, the last prayer occurring on *vesperas* evening. Second, the masses held in honor of the patron saint on *vesperas* [851] (the day before *kahologan*) and *kahologan* mornings. Third, the baptism of babies, particularly those born since the last fiesta in *barrios* isolated from the *poblacion* church. In some *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church of Siaton, as many as 30 babies were baptized by the priest when he visited the community for their annual fiesta. Fourth, the religious procession held on the afternoon of *kahologan* (sometimes on *vesperas*) when the patron saint is taken from the chapel or church and paraded around the fiesta area.

The religious, economic, and social activities of the rural fiesta complex are not solely concentrated in the "fiesta core" which, for most purposes, can be described as *vesperas* and *kahologan* days although variations do exist in some *poblacion* (but rarely *barrio*) fiestas. A series of weekly pre-fiesta dances are held, sometimes beginning two or three months before the "fiesta core." Barrio Caticugan's pre-fiesta Saturday night dances began (in 1951) a month before *vesperas* while those in Siaton *poblacion* started nearly three months before *vesperas* in 1950. As the fiesta approaches these dances increase in frequency, attendance, and admission fee for the individual. Many of the people begin to repair, or even enlarge, their dwellings for the coming fiesta. Efforts are made to earn additional money in order to entertain properly visitors during the fiesta, buy new clothing, etc. One of the busiest periods of tailors and dressmakers in the rural areas is several months before the fiesta. No Filipino likes to wear the [838] same dress at two different fiestas. Beauticians (often *bayules*)⁶ [305] invade the *poblacions* and *barrios* along the road to set up their permanent wave shops. Local stores begin to stock their shelves with foods associated with the fiesta but not normally sold to their patrons. More and more committee meetings are held regarding the fiesta organization as the period approaches.

796 An innovation introduced to the original Spanish fiesta complex is the beauty or popularity contest. The beauty candidates are local *barrio* 541 or *poblacion* girls who are supported by various factions in their communities. In the *poblacion* for example, the municipal employees, merchants, and school-teachers will sponsor a candidate for "Queen" or "Muse" of the fiesta. These contests are not as typical of *barrio* fiestas as in larger communities, nor nearly as elaborate. Tickets are sold by the candidates

⁶ Hieranaphrodites.

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[557] or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'" In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

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[367] The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.⁷ Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

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565 The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

⁷ In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang. "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

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pinas is somewhat dubious. Usually the executive committee is composed of the mayor or other municipal officials, schoolteachers, and prominent merchants in the larger *poblacions*. In a survey made of 28 different fiestas held in 16 different *poblacions*, the executive committee was almost always completely dominated by men. In certain committees, such as decoration, invitation, reception, dances, and prizes, there are normally more women than men, yet the chairman of these committees is usually a man. Very few women are included in the finance and audit committees of the fiesta. The Filipina's privilege of controlling the family purse-strings is not extended to the management of fiesta finances.

The predominance of men on the fiesta committees is due to a number of factors. Men, with their greater physical strength, are more appropriate as members of such committees engaged in building arches, constructing a dance platform, etc. Women, traditionally assigned certain positions in Philippine society, are the logical choice (culturally) for committees needed to decorate the church altar (making lovely paper flowers, a skill taught them by the older generation of Spanish priests), etc. Yet the predominance of males over females in the rural fiesta organization reflects another factor, i. e., the secular nature of the complex. Catholicism in the *barrios* and *poblacions* is primarily feminine. In those sacred aspects of the fiesta the women normally predominate, yet the contemporary fiesta is a complex which falls largely within the sphere of masculine activities. There are many other interesting and significant aspects of the Philippine fiesta which merit attention but cannot be dealt with here owing to space limitations.

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The material which follows is a "reconstruction" of the "fiesta core," *vesperas*, and *kahologan*. This "core" is typical of nearly all of the fiestas observed by the writer in Negros Oriental province and of those fiestas analyzed through their printed fiesta programs. Variations in the fiesta complex do occur before or after this "core" with some fiestas having a formal program covering as much as eight days. The fiesta's length is often increased by synchronizing it with other events such as a provincial Boy Scout meeting, the opening of a new bridge in the area, etc. Another difficulty inherent in this "reconstruction" of the fiesta complex "core" is that it blurs differences between small *barrio* and larger, more urban *poblacion* fiestas. This reconstruction is more typical of a medium-size urban *poblacion* than a typical small *barrio* or sitio.

Vesperas, the day before *kahologan* is also called "Proclamation Day," "Eve of the Fiesta," or "Fiesta Vesperas," although in the printed fiesta programs the most common title is "Proclamation Day"—when the elected

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796 Queen is proclaimed at the evening dance. *Vesperas* is the "day of arrival" of most of the fiesta visitors; at least, it is the ideal pattern. If one lives fairly near the fiesta, one may not come until early *kahologan* morning. The young men and women, however, prefer to arrive on *vesperas* in order to attend the dance that evening, an event which holds little attraction for most older Filipinos. (In the smaller *barrios* the dances are rarely attended by the older people who do not know how to dance the fox-trots, mambos and tangos of the younger generation.) The arrival of relatives and guests on *vesperas* depends upon such factors as; (1) distance one lives from the fiesta; (2) transportation facilities; (3) whether relatives are living in the community giving the fiesta; (4) prestige of the fiesta; (5) weather conditions, etc. For larger fiestas, special busses are added to the regular schedule and the fare is often raised.

796 *Vesperas* may begin with a "reveille" or *diana*, as early as four or 517 five in the morning, when the orchestra marches around the *poblacion* playing sprightly melodies to awaken the people—many of whom have been up for hours busy with food preparations or gambling all night. One can often determine the residences of the *principalia* by following the band, for their route is normally from one such residence to another where they stop to play a few minutes and then pass on. Often the orchestra's members may be invited inside for a breakfast snack. There may be some fireworks after the *diana*. While the fiesta programs for *kahologan* invariably state that church services follow the *diana*, this is not always the case in *vesperas*. If masses are held, they are followed by athletic games.

At noon the church bells are rung and more fireworks may be exploded. A few fiesta programs list "Dinner in all houses" but this event is not as frequently included in the programs for *vesperas* as on *kahologan*. Meals served *vesperas* noon are not as elaborate as those served *kahologan* noon. *Vesperas* afternoon is filled with sports, Boy Scout exhibitions, demonstration of folk dances or calisthenics by the local school children. Gambling activities continue all day, either at the residences of the people, or at the mean gambling area of the fiesta, often the market place. There are 857 games of chance, such as *palipat*, *diolens*, or *argolya*, card games, *monle*, *albores*, or *hantak*, and cockfights. There are games of chance for the "small fry" which require only one-centavo bets. Frequently, the writer saw small boys (10-14 years) dealing at card games and was told that they had been hired by gamblers to impress the players that their game was an honest one.

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A somewhat distinct feature of some *vesperas* afternoon programs is the "Civic" or "Inaugural" parade of the winning candidates of the beauty contest. Floats are entered in the parade by various groups within the community, e. g. schoolteachers, municipal employees, etc. A religious procession was listed in some of the fiesta programs for late *vesperas* afternoon, although the writer did not observe such a procession on this day at the fiesta attended. Several programs also stated a Holy Rosary would be held in the late afternoon in the church or chapel. This is a fairly common feature (although often omitted from the printed programs) since *vesperas* is normally the ninth and last of the pre-fiesta *novena* prayers. There may be more fireworks around six o'clock, although there are fewer fireworks in the fiesta today owing to recent government restrictions levied against their importation. It seems that the use of fireworks during the fiesta is a Chinese addition.

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The proclamation dance *vesperas* evening may begin as early as six p. m. The admission charge for the dance is lower than for the Coronation Ball held *kahologan*, averaging ₱1.50 to ₱2.00. This price is one indication that the Proclamation Dance is not considered such a gala and important affair as the Coronation Ball. Normally, both in the *barrio* and *poblacion*, women are admitted free to these dances "to insure the men," who must pay. There is a program which includes the presentation to the audience of winners of the beauty contest. A local speaker introduces the proclamation guest orator who is normally a provincial official, a prominent attorney, or an affluent citizen of Dumaguete. Sometimes the local congressman may be the speaker but not as frequently as for the Coronation Ball. The most important speaker is usually reserved for the most important dance, the Coronation Ball.

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The program for the Proclamation dance may include prizes for the best tango, bee-bop, rumba, calypso couples, "surprise" numbers, and other entertainment. One fiesta program stated that an auction of "bouquets" for the "Fiesta Muse" would be held, the *poblacion* counterpart of the *barrio* fiesta custom of "selling flowers" at their dances.⁸ The dance may continue until after midnight; one fiesta program stated the dance would last from six in the evening to six the following morning.

⁸ During the pre-fiesta and fiesta dances in Barrio Caticugan, one flower was auctioned to the highest bidder, who was permitted to dance for one dance with the local belle the flower represented, while the people watched. Often three or four flowers would be auctioned during the dance, the money collected being used to finance the fiesta. This custom was more frequently observed at *barrio* than *poblacion* fiestas.

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Kahologan begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)⁹ After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto*, *hodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports—basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and “crab” races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

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At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the “big feast” of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

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⁹ In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., “Distribution of Priests”, *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., “L'appel de l' Amerique latine”, *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

527 and going, the athletic games and contests are resumed. The older folks may take a siesta, visit or gossip with friends and relatives, or play mah-jong. If the *poblacion* is near a large river there may be aquatic sports. The gambling never stops, but continues night and day. Cockfights are held.

796 Between five and six, the religious procession occurs. The figure of the patron saint is carried outside the *poblacion* church, after a brief service, and slowly taken on a platform around the *poblacion*, under the four arches when they exit. In one *poblacion* the writer remarked about the absence of the arches and was informed this was not a *barrio* fiesta. The patron saint is followed by the priests who are visiting the local priest, and by the people, mostly women and children who often hold lighted candles and sing hymns. The procession returns to the church where another short service is held before the people disperse. Another fireworks display may be held at the end of the procession.

527 The Coronation Ball begins around seven or eight p.m. in the auditorium (the school building) or the outdoor dance hall (usually the *poblacion* plaza). The admission prizes varies from P2.00 to P3.00. Ladies 535 are admitted free as is the custom. However, if a man brings more than two ladies, he is charged for his additional female companions.

[537] At the Coronation Ball the "Queen" and her "Princesses" are installed. The new Queen may be crowned by the Queen of the previous year and some *poblacions* have torch parades to escort the Queen from her residence to the dance. There is an introductory speech by a local official of the *poblacion* to introduce the guest speaker. The Coronation Ball speaker is quite frequently the congressmen of the district in which the *poblacion* is located, the governor, or a choice from other top provincial officials. Normally the congressman of Negros Oriental province speak at these fiestas in their own districts, although this is not always the case. After the crowning of the Queen of the fiesta, there may be a "Parade of the Royal Family," and the prizes and trophies are awarded to the winners. Contests are held for the best tango, mambo or waltz couple, and vocal solos or orations are given. When the program is over, the dance continues into the early hours of the following morning. The Coronation Ball is usually the fiesta climax for the young people who dance gracefully and tirelessly almost until dawn.

527 The fiestas have a political function, particularly those held in the cities, *poblacions* or larger *barrios* located along the National Road. 666 The small *barrio* fiesta, such as that at Caticugan, rarely has such a func-

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Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new barrio fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

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Fourth, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the barrios distant from the poblacion church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. Fifth, the fiesta re-enforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the barrio or poblacion, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their barrio or poblacion fiesta. Sixth, the barrio and poblacion fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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Seventh, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. Eighth, the fiesta in the larger barrio and poblacion is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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Ninth, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an opportunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. Tenth, in the larger barrio